

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

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[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of
other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be,
Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists
are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); áma 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and
shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring
classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see
"Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a
great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambula-
tion, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a
forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675 ●
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is
"chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition
present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i. e., 662
bribe.

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PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
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585 their destination, the people in the procession are intercepted by members of the girl's family, both male and female, called either *Nang-mi* (*Nang Mi*) "people of the interior", or *Yado Dzao* (*Ya-do mDza-bo*) "companion-friends". These beat them with sticks and make a pretence of holding them up. The bridegroom's relatives offer pieces of cloth, *khatags*, and cash (annas) to appease the trouble-makers, and they are then subject to questioning and answering in song form, based on the eighteen Puranas, called on this occasion *Nya-rabs Chop-gyat* (*gNya-rabs bCho-brGyad*) "the eighteen legends of the witnesses".

The same show of resistance is made again at the door of the girl's house (including thorns put deliberately on the ground to impede sitting down) and more offerings are made to remove the obstacles. The leaders of the procession then state the object of their visit, and proceed to dance round a *tsampa* and bread image called *Drangyas* (*Brang-rGyas*) which has been put up in the yard together with the carcass of a whole sheep or *Sha-kog* (*Sha-k'hog*). Lamas who are present here, begin worship while the dance is still on.

A feast follows, during which the bride is hidden away, her horse is stolen, she is not allowed to go to the toilet, etc., and is generally bothered by her relatives who express in this way their (feigned) disinclination to let her go. Her father and *azhang* are paid some nominal sum of money so that an end is put to this mischief, and the girl is produced. She then has a *khatag* wound round her head and is led into the kitchen, where the lamas conduct a religious ceremony called *yang-kug* (*gYang-k'hug*) which is an evocation of blessing addressed to the pre-Buddhist god of wealth, in order to secure happiness and prosperity for the bride.

Clothes, ornaments, horses, yaks, sheep, goats, grain and cash are now offered to the boy's family by that of the bride. The bridegroom's relatives pay back with *Rin-t'ho*, as decided earlier, and by offering a purely nominal sum of two or three rupees as the price of the milk of the bride's mother, called *Omä Rin* (*aO-mai Rin*) "milk price". Then they all settle down, on both the bride's and the bridegroom's side, to the serious business of drafting the marriage contract.

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695 In this document, the details of the girl's dowry are listed, what the property of the bridegroom will be is specified, the "assistance" which the bride will have from a number of other husbands, i.e. the brothers of the eldest one, is recorded, and sometimes a clause is inserted that if the husband does not turn out to be up to the mark, she will be authorized to bring in a *mag-pa* of her choice. All men present are

witness to the signature of this document. Those who sign are the *Nya-pön*[†] and the father of the bridegroom; the latter adds a pledge that he is bound to carry out his promises as to the amount of property which will be that of the young people when they are married. The original goes to the bride's relations, and the boy's family retains a duplicate.

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The bridal party remains the night in the house and in the morning sets out for the bridegroom's house, taking the bride with them, and the second phase of the wedding ceremony begins.

The bride is received at the entrance of the bridegroom's house by two or more lamas, reciting prayers. They hold an earthenware vessel full of foodstuffs (*chang*, *tsampa*, rice, tea, dried apricots, and various varieties of vegetables) called *Zablug* (*Za-bLugs* (-sku) or "victual earthen vessel"; which one of them whirls around the head of the bridegroom as he stands on the doorstep waiting for his future wife. The pot is then taken to a large stone standing close by, upon which crossed *dorjes* (*rDo-rJe*) have been drawn with a piece of charcoal, and is broken upon it. This initial ceremony is called *Gyag-chod* (*rGyag-ch'hod*) meaning "casting the hindrance away".

Then everybody troops into the house and a feast begins in which there is much singing and dancing and the expenses of which are paid by the bridegroom's *azhang*. The bride is brought in, and is seated with her bridegroom and his brothers (today, usually only the next eldest brother) in the kitchen on a white piece of cloth upon which grain has been strewn. They are made to eat out of the same plate, and one of the witnesses, who now assumes the role of *Na-tri-pa*, as we have already seen in Lahul, puts a *go-ras* or cotton cloth on the head of the boys.

The third phase of the marriage, the most important one, follows. The *Na-tri-pa*, who is also known as the *Tashi-pa* (*bKra-shis-pa*) or "lucky one", in Ladak, conducts the bride into the store room of the house. He carries a *Da-dar* (*mDa-dar*) or arrow with flags in the five colours of Buddhism, a mirror, a sheep's ankle bone, and a *khatag*, and is followed by the bridegroom or bridegrooms. Once they have all got into the room, the match-maker (for that is what the "nose-conducting-one" is) removes the *go-ras* which the bride has been wearing since she was taken from her house, and those of the men which have just been put on in the kitchen, and lays them down on a plate containing barley grains which is standing on a table or a ledge close by. He then hooks the bride by the collar from behind with the *Da-dar*, as a symbol of taking her out from among other girls whom the men

† [i.e., The "Chief witness" -- Analyst]

585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The *Sha-kog*, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. Division of property between parents and children

595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time
425 has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the
428 house and the property belonging to it to their son or daughter, who
886 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part
[585] of his or her inheritance.

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

[888] This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen* *K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".